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THE

Lord Haverſham's SPEECH

In the HOUSE of PEERS,

Wedneſday the 12*th* of *January* 1709.

On the late intended Invaſion

OF

SCOTLAND.

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In the *HOUSE* of *PEERS*, &c.

My Lords,

I Have a greater Reſpect for your Lordſhips than to keep you in any Expectation; there's nothing I can ſay, I am ſure, can in the leaſt deſerve it.

My Lords, When the Campaign was at an End, when a Land Tax lay on your Table, when the due Reſpect had been paid to that Sorrow, in which we all bear a part, when the Seſſion of Parliament was ſo greatly advanc'd, and a long Receſs ſo near at hand, I thought it might be a proper Time to put your Lordſhips in mind *of the late intended Invaſion*; And the rather, becauſe *an Enquiry into this*, ſeem'd to me, to be what the *Nation expected*, and what I have obſerv'd, even thoſe who have differ'd in their Thoughts about it, yet unanimouſ-

desired; but above all, because it is a Matter, in which not only our Welfare and Happiness, but our *very Being it self, the Security of the Nation, and the Safety of Her Majesty, are so highly concern'd.*

I did endeavour to prove the first of these to your Lordships, when I made you this Motion, by Reasons taken *from the Flourishing of your Trade, the Support of your Credit, the Nature of your Victories, and the Quieting of Mens Minds at Home*; and shall now, with your Lordships Leave, say a few Words to the other part, and shew your Lordships how much this Enquiry concerns us all *in point of Safety.*

Some perhaps may think, That after *such wonderful Successes Abroad*, as we have had the last Year, after the French King has lost *Lisle*, and been forc'd to abandon *Ghent* and *Bruges*; To speak to your Lordships of any *Danger at Home*, or to have the least Apprehension from such a *Baffled Enemy*, were to expose the Weakness of a Man's own Judgement, but I shall endeavour to shew your Lordships how dangerous a Mistake this is, from *Example*, *Reason* and *Authority*, the three best Arguments I know to prove any Truth.

My Lords, Were not *Hochstet and Ramillies as Glorious Victories*, and as great Mortifications to the French King, as our taking of *Lisle*, or reducing of *Ghent*, and yet after such intire Victories, such repeated Defeats, had not this haughty Neighbour of ours, the Presumption the last Year, to attempt *the Setting a Pretender upon Her Majesties Throne*? And can we reasonably promise our selves any Security when ever he is in a Condition to give us the least Disturbance? And is he not in a Condition? Is he not as *near us* this Year as he was the last, notwithstanding all our Conquests? That's an Advantage our Allies only have by them, to have their Enemy at a *greater Distance.* Has he not as many Ships, and as many Friends too, except one, as I mention'd to your Lordships? Nay, *My Lords*, Has he not as *great Encouragement* to *renew* his Attempt

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as he had to *undertake* it, as I ſhall preſently ſhew your Lordſhips; From whence then does our great Security ariſe? Beſides, *My Lords*, What is yet further, Every Body is convinc'd by the inconſiderable Force, the ſmall number of Ships and Troops, the French King imploy'd in the late Attempt upon us the laſt Year, *That his cheif Dependance was upon the Incouragement and Promiſes of Aſſiſtance he had from hence*; And yet notwithſtanding *all our Enquiries*, is it not as *great a Myſtery to this Day as it was, who the Perſons amongſt us are, who were concerned in this black unnatural Treaſon.*

'Tis true, *My Lords*, ſeveral Perſons of *great Quality and Intereſt* have been taken up upon Suſpicion, brought from their own Homes and Country, whilſt others thereby have had the Opportunity of *Supplanting them* in their Intereſt there; 'tis not for me to ſay whether this proceeded from *Ill Will* to ſome, or *Favour* to others, but *has any thing been proved againſt them? Does not the Bail that has been given for them, and their Sitting in this Houſe, convince every Body of their Innocency*; So that this way of Proceeding has rather proved *Vexatious* to the Subject, than any *real Security* to the Government, and I hope will make us for the future ſet *a greater Value upon our Habeas Corpus Act*, which was the Right of every Subject before, by Common Law.

Nor has the Characters that have been made of Perſons to be ſuſpected, had any better effect; There are two I ſhall mention to your Lordſhips, and I think greater Miſtakes than both of them can ſcarce be put into Words: The firſt is, *That Men of Arbitrary Principles are the Perſons who ought to be ſuſpected*; This Argument has been very much labour'd, and great Pains has been taken to perſwade the World from Men's Practices in former Reigns, that they are ſtill of Arbitrary Principles, and from thence 'tis inferr'd they ought to be ſuſpected. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips or my ſelf at preſent to ſhew the Weakneſs of this Argument, I will take it as

they that have made uſe of it wou'd have it, for a ſtrong and undenyable Conſequence, and then I ask, *What*, My Lords, *is the Nation to ſuſpect any who are at the Head of your Miniſtry, of giving this Incouragement to your Enemy? For I will be bold to ſay in this Place, if this be a good Argument, it is as ſtrong againſt ſome who are at the Head of your Miniſtry, as againſt any Man I know of who is out of it.*

There is another Character of Suſpicious Perſons, which I cannot but take Notice of, becauſe I take it to be very fatal to the Freedom of Parliament, for it is impoſſible for any Man to take notice, either in Parliament, or to the Queen Her ſelf, of any wrong Meaſures, or falſe Step in the Management of Publick Affairs *without ſo far reflecting on the Miniſtry*, and if this is to be interpreted as *an Artful Method of leſſening Her Majeſty's Juſt Eſteem of Her Miniſters*, and thoſe who do ſo are to be mark'd as Dangerous to the Safety of Her Majeſty's Perſon and the preſent Eſtabliſhment. I am afraid Her Majeſty for the future may *have ſeveral Things conceal'd from Her*, which might be for *Her Service to know*, and one of the great Ends and Uſes of Parliaments, *the Redreſſing of Grievances, and keeping great Men in Awe*, will quickly be laid aſide. But, *My Lords*, we have a very viſible Inſtance, that this is a great Miſtake, for do we not ſee thoſe Lords, who the laſt Year *eſpouſed the Caſe and Complaint of the Merchants in Parliament; now advanced to the greateſt Places of Truſt and Power*, ſo that theſe two Methods have rather ſhewed us, who ought not, than who are to be ſuſpected.

My Lords, I ſhall now take Leave to ſay one Word to the poſitive Part, and if we would apply an Obſervation of the Schools to the Caſe in hand, I believe it would ſet this Matter in the trueſt Light. They tell us there is a great difference to be made between a Diviſion and a Diſtinction: Every Diviſion is indeed a Diſtinction, but every Diſtinction is not a Diviſion; the Soul and the Body are diſtinct, but they are not divided,

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for that would be a State of Death; it is so in this Case, *The Papist, Jacobite, and Nonjuror*, are a Party of Men *divided* from the rest of the Nation; they want that *forma informans*, as they call it, that vital Spirit of Love and Loyalty that animats every good Subject: But as for others, however they may be distinguished, and differ among themselves in their Notions relating either to Ecclesiastical or Civil Policy, yet they seem all to have the same Regard and Concern for the Honour and Safety of Her Majesty and Government. I would not be misunderstood, as if I did not think some of all Persuasions may be faulty: I know, that even among the Apostles themselves, *He that bore the Bag prov'd the Traytor*: My meaning only is, That those who have taken the Test to the Government, may at least pretend to an equal Degree of your Charity with those who never yet own'd it; and it is these Persons who never swore to the Government, that Her Majesty directly points at, in Her last Speech to Her last Parliament; for after she has been pleased to say, 'It is certain we must be all inexcusable, if we do 'not take warning from this Attempt, to complete what may 'be necessary for our Security at Home, and the discouraging 'the like for the future; to which, by God's Blessing, there 'shall be nothing wanting on my Part. In the following Para-'graph She is pleas'd to add, 'I must recommend to you, at 'your Return into your several Counties, to use your utmost 'Care and Diligence in putting the Laws in Execution against 'Papists, and all others disaffected to My Government, and in 'making them pay towards the Publick Taxes to the full of 'what the Law requires from them: Nothing being more rea-'sonable than that they, who by their Principles and Practices 'encourage (if not actually foment) such Disturbances, should 'doubly contribute the Charge of Quieting them, and securing 'the Kingdom's Peace, and should know themselves on all such 'Occasions to be responsible for the many Inconveniencies that 'may ensue; which Two Paragraphs will, I hope, Justifie what I have taken Notice of to your Lordships.

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My Lords, I do not forget the Obligation I am under to a Noble Lord, and therefore ſhall now ſhew your Lordſhips, that notwithſtanding the French King failed in his late Attempt upon us, *yet he has more Encouragement to renew it, than he had at firſt to undertake it*: And, *My Lords*, I think a great deal that I have ſaid to your Lordſhips proves it. Is not a great Encouragement to him, to ſee, notwithſtanding ſo many Friends that he has amongſt us, *all the Methods that we have hither to taken has ſignifyed ſo little to diſcover any of them?* And that thoſe Methods have not been taken, that might perhaps have ſignifyed more towards a Diſcovery, and have been made uſe of at other Times; I mean *Promiſes both of Pardon and Reward*. Does he not ſee how eaſily he can ſhake *the main Pillar that ſupports all our Commerce, I mean the Bank?* Was it not in danger of Breaking? And has it recovered the Blow to this Day that he gave it? For, *My Lords*, If Men cannot be Maſters of their own Money, which they truſt with any Body upon no other Reaſon, but that they may command it again in any Caſe of Neceſſity, *without being looked upon as ſuſpected Perſons*, I believe Men will be ſo wiſe as to ſecure both their Money and themſelves too from any ſuch Danger. There is another Encouragement which he has, *My Lords*, and that is the *Weak and Defenceleſs Condition of Scotland, the Deficiency of Force, and ill ſtate of our Garriſons there at the Time of the Invaſion*, notwithſtanding the certain Accounts and Knowlege we had of it. What, *My Lords*, Will no alarm awaken us? Will the Scales never fall off from our Eyes? *Muſt ſome Mens mighty Services prevent our looking into their great Miſcarriages?* And muſt this Poor Nation be eternally ſawn aſunder by the Struggles of Contending Parties? *My Lords*, I hope it is not thought that I have been thus urgent with your Lordſhips from any Fears of Perſonal Danger: I am content to take my Lot with others as it falls, whatever it be; but I am afraid leſt Her Majeſty ſhould be dethroned whilſt ſhe lives, & that the Deſtruction of Popery and Slavery, whilſt we are ſpeaking Peace to our ſelves, ſhould ſuddenly, like a Flood, break in upon us.

My Lords, If your Lordſhips have any Intention of looking into this Matter, I ſhall make your Lordſhips a Motion which perhaps may give us ſome Light; it is indeed a Complex one, and rather a Shedule of Papers; it is, 'That Her Majeſty will pleaſe to order that there may be laid before this 'Houſe: At what Time Her Majeſty received the firſt Account of the In'tended Invaſion? What Orders were thereupon iſſued into Scotland, with 'Relation either to the Forces or Gariſons? What was the number of Regu'lar Troops and Forces there, at the Time of this Intelligence? What was 'the State of the Gariſons there at that Time? What Augmentation was 'made, or Forces ſent thither, from the Time of the Intelligence to the time 'of the Invaſion? What Orders has been given with Relation to the Gari'ſons, and when, both before and ſince the Invaſion, from the Time of the 'firſt Intelligence?'

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